THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1936)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,300 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1936. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1936' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	—Anglia
Abstr.	—Abstract
Amer.	—American
Archiv	—Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Beibl.	—Beiblatt z. Anglia
bib.	—bibliography
BJRL	—Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Cambr.	—Cambridge
comp.	—compiler
Col.	—Columbia
CR	—Contemporary Review
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
Diss.	—Dissertation
dt.	—deutsch
ed., edd.	—editor, editors
EJ	—English Journal
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan
Engl.	—English
ES	—English Studies
ESn	—Englische Studien
facs., facss.	—facsimile, facsimiles
FR	—Fortnightly Review
GR	—Germanic Review
GRM	—Germanisch - Romanische Monatschrift
HUP	—Harvard University Press
ils, illusts.	—illustrated, illustrations
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology
l.e.	—limited edition
Ln	—London.
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLR	—Modern Language Review
Mo	—Monthly
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes and Queries
NSN	—New Statesman and Nation
19C	—Nineteenth Century
OUP	—Oxford University Press
P	—Press
pll.	—plates
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
port	—portrait
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Q	—Quarterly.
R	—Review, Revue
RAA	—Revue Anglo-Américaine
Repr.	—Reprinted
RES	—Review of English Studies
Ru	—Russian
S	—Shakespeare, Shakspere
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
Sn	—Shakespearean, Shaksperian
SP	—Studies in Philology
SR	—Saturday Review (London)
SRL	—Saturday Review of Literature (N. Y.)
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
tr.	—translator
u.	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

A name and title-index will be published in the April issue of the BULLETIN. The compiler's best thanks are due to the publishers, libraries, and personal friends who have assisted him in one way or another in making this compilation. Among the last he is especially indebted to his devoted friend William B. Kempling.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *HAMLET*

By ROBERT M. *S*MITH

PROFESSOR ANTON A. RAVEN, in *A Hamlet Bibliography and Reference Guide** (1877-1935), has produced a pioneering work in Shakspere bibliography. Every one who wishes to revive his memories of Hamlet critics and criticism, and also to discover how much he does not know; every young scholar burning with new interpretations of *Hamlet* will, if he be wise, keep this volume before him for study and reference. The student searching for what has been written since 1877 about Polonius, or Ophelia, for example, will find not only the titles gathered for him, but digests of the most important articles. With such a bibliography he can obtain in a few hours a birdseye view of the trends in Hamlet criticism. After reading the very convenient summaries of the exceedingly diverse views of recent textual and bibliographical critics, he will also be left wondering how any consensus of opinion on the relationships of Q1, Q2, and F1 will ever be forthcoming. It will be wholesome, too, for him to realize that, as Professor Raven says, "there are no definitive answers to questions about the sources, text, early editions, characters, plot, or ultimate meaning of the play."

Professor Raven's book is not merely a short-title list, but a classified and annotated bibliography with each item numbered, and an author-index appended for ready reference. As many items, because of this subject classification, are necessarily repeated, and separately numbered with each repetition, Professor Raven's total of items does not, as might be thought, reach the number 2,167. Following standard bibliographical practice he has listed reviews under the title of the book reviewed. It would have been well to have included also in the index the writers of the reviews. Sometimes one cannot be sure without a good deal of searching that a given review is present; nor can one readily locate all the contributions to Hamlet discussion of a given critic or reviewer.

* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. xvi, 292, cloth, $3.50.

The criticism of Shakspere is so unlimited that no single person could possibly read it all. As the compiler intimates in his preface, no one in a lifetime could encompass all that has been written about *Hamlet.* On the other hand, doubtless, no one living has read more *Hamlet* criticism than Dr. Raven. Since Horace Howard Furness published his Variorum edition in March, 1877, Professor Raven estimates that something concerned solely with Hamlet has been published every twelve days; and if editions of the play and reviews of its performances were included, the average would be seven days.* Confronted by this endless task that must ever be incomplete, Professor Raven chooses to begin with 1877, where Dr. Furness left off. His reasons, however, for omitting the criticism before 1877 are not convincing. Dr. Furness's list does not approach completeness, nor are his omissions worthless; and the *unwieldiness* and *cost* of including the early criticism should not be final considerations. A companion volume on Hamlet criticism up to 1877 is still needed as a supplement to this volume. Let Professor Raven take heart.

Professor Raven's declared aim is completeness within specified limitations. Having explained the difficulties of completeness, he would have been well advised to omit any claims to it even within the limitations he sets forth in his preface. He has excluded specially (1) later editions of works published before 1877 and reviews of them, (2) discussions of Hamlet which are not independent, i.e., which are not articles by themselves or are not separate sections of the books, (3) reviews of performances of the play. Accordingly, in Section V he gives us only a selection of modern editions preceded by references to more complete lists. Surely Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography,* which contains an extensive list of editions, and is not listed anywhere in the book, should have been included among the references on page 236. His decision to omit discussions of Hamlet that are not independent narrows his bibliography greatly, and deprives us of some first class criticism. For example, Professor E. H. Wright's essay "Reality and Inconsistency in

* It would be interesting to know how Dr. Raven reached these figures. No human being knows or can know how many items on *Hamlet* have been written or even published.—Ed.

Shakspere's Characters," *Shakspere Studies,* Columbia University, 1916 (Rev. by C. S. Northup, J.E.G.P. XVII, 309, 1918) may have been omitted on this ground; nevertheless, it is one of the most interesting modern discussions of the Hamlet problem. Under Section II, *Sources, Early Texts, and Date,* Professor Raven seems to have missed J. Q. Adams' latest discussion of the early *Hamlet* texts (Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Nov., 1932), and Max Farrand's *Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Collotype reproduction of the Huntington copy of the 1603 Quarto), 1931.

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Also under some heading should be included previous summaries or digests of Hamlet interpretations, for example, A. J. Ralli's *A History of Shakespearian Criticism,* 1932, which offers fuller excerpts of criticism than can be included in a bibliography, and provides a useful transition step between Professor Raven's guide and the complete critical originals. Also may be mentioned in this connection R. W. Babcock's survey in *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* (1766-1799), 1931, pp. 148-153; 172-175; 152-153; 221-222; and the introduction by Haven McClure in *The Modern Reader's Hamlet,* 1922.

In a *Hamlet* bibliography students should be directed, moreover, to the views of some of our foreign writers, for example, Turgenev, Tolstoi, Heine, Anatole France. There is Tolstoi's interpretation of Hamlet as a character without unity, a mere phonograph for the author, in *Fortnightly Review,* 1907, pp. 62-91. There is Turgenev's famous essay on *Hamlet and Don Quixote,* translated into English by Robert Nichols, 1930; also in N. Y. T., Apr. 23, IV,1916; Heine on Ophelia in Ida Benecke's *Heine on Shakspeare,* 1895, p. 109-113; Anatole France's fine appreciative sketch in F. H. Pritchard's *From Confucius to Mencken,* 1929, pp. 401-4.

Not much can be said in praise of the transmission of certain foreign titles or of the proof-reading of this bibliography. Evidently Professor Raven is not sure of his German, nor did he secure a competent German scholar to

proof-read his pages. P. 207 (item 1506) "Plays" should be "Play"; (item 2165) "deutsche" should be "deutsches"; p. 2 (item 4) "263" should be "253"; 987 under "Simpson, Percy" in the Index should be 978; p. 80 (item 540) "kunstler" should be "Künstler"; p. 83 (item 561) "Stavehagen" should be "Stavenhagen"; "Die Dramaturgie" should be "Die *deutsche* Dramaturgie"; p. 112 (item 730) "International Monatschrift" should be "Internationale Monatsschrift"; p. 21 (item 143) "Hamburgische" should be "Hamburgischen"; p. 38 (item 255) "Medizet, Berliner Wochenschrift" should be "Berliner Medizinische Wochenschrift"; p. 40 (item 269) "Deutschem" should be "Deutsches"; on page 288 the initials ("C. G.") of Schäffer's name should be "C. C.", as on p. 78 (item 528), etc.

The greatest shortcoming in the bibliography is the incompleteness of the references to *Hamlet* on the stage. The compiler gives notice that he has expressly omitted reviews of performances of the play; nevertheless these are greatly needed for students interested in the stage history. To hunt for them year by year in the bibliographies of the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* or elsewhere, as Professor Raven suggests, is a task for the bibliographer of *Hamlet* rather than for the student. For example, why omit J. E. Agate's *Their Hour Upon the Stage,* 1930, which contains passages on Mr. Percy's Hamlet (pp. 81-84), Mr. Ainley's Hamlet (pp. 85-88), Mr. Gielgud's Hamlet (pp. 89-90), and Herr Moissi's Hamlet (pp. 96-99), all played in London during that year? G. C. D. Odell's *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving,* 1920, 2 vols., which a student of stage history needs to consult first to get his bearings, should not have been excluded. In item 654 the title of the essay (*"Hamlet:* riddle of the years") is given as *"Hamlet:* the oldest problem of all," and the volume number is given as "I" instead of "IV". In item 642 (and in the index) the author's name is given as "Wechssler" instead of "Wechsler", and so forth.

The omissions lead one to the conclusion that the compiler has not always been wise in his exclusions, nor succeeded in making his bibliography as inclusive, even within his limitations, as he would have been able to make it had

he left his bibliographical net down longer in the vast sea, or made further judicious casts in other areas of it.

Professor Raven's work, nevertheless, remains indispensable to the *Hamlet* student. Everyone who consults it will feel grateful for the enormous labor that has brought so much *Hamlet* criticism, and digests of it, into the compass of 273 pages, rather than too captious over exclusions. As we said in another instance, here is scholarship working for years without hope of adequate recognition or reward.

We may hope that separate annotated bibliographies of the other Shakspere plays, long badly needed, will be forthcoming as a result of Professor Raven's endeavors with *Hamlet.* Directors of seminars in American universities should look with more favor upon projects in bibliography for graduate theses, since the compiling of such guides, as Professor Raven's, affords disciplines quite as exacting in patience, industry, accuracy, and the other virtues of graduate research, as the prevailing requirements in philology —and the results are likely to be much more widely useful.

Lehigh University,
Bethlehem, Pa.

HAMLETS ALL

By ARTHUR M. SAMPLEY

HAMLET may have had his eye on the critics when he made his dying request of Horatio:

> report me and my cause aright
> To the unsatisfied.

This unfulfilled commission has been carried out by hundreds of eager scholars. In the process Hamlet's distracted globe has been transferred from his own shoulders to those of Goethe, Coleridge, Bradley, Stoll, Wilson, and countless others. The old question, "Is Hamlet Mad?" has begun to assume larger proportions. It now seems more germane to the matter to inquire: "Are the critics mad?" From time to time they have suggested that Hamlet is handicapped by conscience, that he is thought-sick, that he is afflicted with melancholia, or that he is merely a composite figure botched up out of older plays and therefore beyond analysis. More recently they tell us that he is a mirage of beautiful words which Shakspere beguiles us into considering a real character. It is utterly futile to seek a cause for Hamlet's delay, because Shakspere himself had no explanation for it.

After the disillusion of modern criticism, a naive student might conclude:

> The rest is silence.

Silence indeed! The tower of Babel on its stormiest day would have been a haven of quiet compared to the noisy tumult among the critics. In German, French, Italian, Spanish, Scandinavian, the controversy rages. Words, words, words! In vain we exclaim, "These tedious old fools." Throughout a thousand colleges of the world and a hundred thousand high schools, millions of Rosencrantzes and Guildersterns seek to pluck the heart out of Hamlet's mystery. With a hundred tricks and devices they go about to recover the wind of him and drive him into a toil. Here one lurks with a treatise on melancholy, there another with a German *ur-Hamlet,* a third with an analysis of images, a fourth with the new method in bibliography. Bernardo of the Middle West cries, " 'Tis here," Horatio of the Cambridge University Press, " 'Tis here," and we who are but mutes and audience echo mournfully, " 'Tis gone."

Nor is all this pother only in school and study. The play, too, is the thing! For Hamlet is on the boards of the world. In Bolshevik Russia he thunders in the index; in New York City he vaunts his rival players and his war of the theaters; in the provinces of America his traveling company carries away Hercules and his load too. A ubiquitous Globe Theater migrates from Chicago to San Diego to Dallas.

If, however, there is truly, as the wiser critics hint, no satisfactory explanation of the character of Hamlet, why do we give heed to him? Why does his perturbed spirit yet trouble us with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls? Why do we not decently inter him, if not with maimed rites, yet with pamphlets and tomes that would make Ossa like a wart?

The answer is that even though Shakspere in the sixteenth century may not have known what was troubling Hamlet, we of the twentieth century do know. For the same disease afflicts us. We too have seen a ghost stalk by our watch and debated whether it brought with it airs from heaven or blasts from hell. It is the ghost of a dead age warning us of impending change and laying upon us the duty of a new order. The time is out of joint. Too well we know what is behind the agony of the cry,

> O cursëd spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!

Fascism thunders at us from the right, communism from the left. Shall we meet force with force, or shall we delay? And whither shall we turn for counsel? There is Polonius mumbling out terms of eighteenth century economics, senilely unconscious that his words have lost their meaning. There is sentimental Ophelia, a figure of Victorian piety and benevolence. She was our love in quieter times. In vain now do we visit her closet and peruse her face.

But time is flying, and we have accomplished nothing. The world moves on towards the inevitable catastrophe. In every nation there are strict and observant watch, daily cast of brazen cannon, and foreign mart for implements of war. Too clearly we see what impends. What would our forefathers have done had they the motive and the cue that we have?

But perhaps we are mistaken about militarism; perhaps it is not sinister. Out of our weakness and our melancholy we may have conjured up a ghost that abuses us to damn us. Let us be sure. We shall have a play before the King: something like the murder of Ethiopia. We shall test the intentions of militaristic forces.

Alas, what we feared is true. The guilt of murder is clearly revealed. We toy for a moment with the idea of killing this foe with sanctions. We do not have even Hamlet's excuse that the King is praying. Oh, no, he is at a work that has no relish of salvation in't. But somehow we delay, we who continually carp at Shakspere's hero.

But that moment of delay is fatal. We have passed the time for action now. Ethiopia is dead, Spain has gone mad and committed suicide, and the stage is now set for the final bloody ending.

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will.

Yes, we, like Hamlet, will put the burden of our irresolution and delay upon the gods. But we are not like the critics. We understand Shakspere's hero. He has held the mirror up to our own souls.

Teachers College,
Denton, Texas.

AN EMENDATION IN THE TEXT OF *HAMLET*

By THOMAS M. PARROTT

AMONG the many emendations of the text of *Hamlet* there is one long ago proposed by Anon.—see the *apparatus criticus* in the Cambridge edition and in the Furness Variorum—which has been recorded by Ridley in his notes in the *New Temple Hamlet*—though wrongly ascribed there, possibly by a misprint—to Dover Wilson, and some time later mentioned as a possibility by Wilson in a footnote, p. 165, in his *What Happens in Hamlet.* Yet this proposed emendation has never been discussed, not even by Wilson in his diligent and meticulous study of the text of this play, *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet.* So far as I am aware it has never been adopted in any standard text and yet it seems on due consideration an *emendatio certissima.* Let us examine the passage in question.

In III, 3, 5-7, there is a wide variance in the texts of Q2 and F. There is, it may be remarked in passing, nothing at all corresponding to this passage in Q1, which opens the scene with the King's prayer.

Q2 reads:

> The termes of our estate may not endure [5]
> Hazerd so neer's as doth hourely grow [6]
> Out of his browes. [7]

F, on the other hand, reads:

> The termes of our estate, may not endure [5]
> Hazard so dangerous as doth hourely grow [6]
> Out of his Lunacies. [7]

Almost without exception editors have followed the text of F.—as in the well-known Tudor edition—or have combined the two texts, reading *near us* in l. 6 and *lunacies* in l. 7—as in the Globe—a practice which Wilson aptly compares to ladling butter from alternate tubs. It would seem to be a better course to follow Q2 in l. 6, rejecting the tautological *hazard so dangerous* of F. and to attempt an emendation of the nonsense word *browes* in l. 7 rather than accept the *lunacies* of F, a word that bears no relation in the *ductus*

litterarum or in meaning either to *browes* or to the original word, whatever it was, in Shakspere's ms., which suggested *browes* to the puzzled compositor of Q2. In fact, as Wilson (*Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet,* p. 324) has shown, *lunacies* is a pure guess on the part of the transcriber who prepared "copy" for the F version of *Hamlet,* a guess probably suggested to him, like *dangerous* in the preceding line, by his memory of an earlier speech of the King's describing Hamlet's condition as one of

> turbulent and dangerous lunacie. (3. 1. 4.)

Wilson's own emendation of *browes,* proposed and defended in his *Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (p. 324), is *brawles,* modernized in his Cambridge edition as *brawls. Brawles* he supposes to have been Shakspere's original word, perverted by the compositor into *browes* by misreading *a* as *o* and *l* as *e,* both quite common errors in Elizabethan texts. But such a misreading would give *browees* not *browes,* and unless we may assume, as Wilson does not, the interference of the "corrector" here to delete the second *e,* we are left with a worse word than *browes.*

As to the meaning Wilson asserts that *brawles* is a "far more pregnant word" than *lunacies,* and it is, to be sure, a word which Shakspere uses repeatedly both as a noun (*C. of E.* 5. 1. 77; *H. V.* Prolog, 1.57; *Oth.* 2. 3. 172; and elsewhere) and in verbal forms (*R. & J.* 1. 1. 182; *2 K. H. IV,* 1. 3. 70; *M. for M.* 4. 1. 9; and elsewhere). All this may be admitted, yet it is perhaps a question whether in any instance elsewhere in Shakspere, *brawles* is used in exactly the sense which it must have here if it is to characterize fitly Hamlet's behavior in the play-scene as that behavior appeared to Claudius. That it had been rude, discourteous, and offensive in the highest degree to the King is certain; but a *brawl* is something more than rude behavior; it is an open quarrel, often terminating in physical violence, as in Cassio's brawl with Roderigo and Montano (*Oth.* 2. 3.). Hamlet, at least, had neither abused nor struck Claudius.

I would suggest that the neglected emendation for *browes,* i. e. the word *braves,* both in its literal resemblance and in its significance, is more appropriate to the context than *brawles.* My attention was first called to this word

by a quotation included under *brave,* the noun, in the *N. E. D.* It is from Heywood's *I. K. Ed. IV* (V. I. p. 54 of the Pearson edition):

Leave off these idle braves.

The line is spoken by a loyal officer to a rebel under sentence of death who is defying the *de facto* sovereign, Edward IV, and boasting of his readiness to die. Perhaps "bravado", "reckless and flaunting speech", especially when addressed to royalty or a superior, would be a close modern equivalent. Now, this meaning is precisely what we might expect Claudius to use in characterizing his nephew's behavior in the play-scene. But we need not go to Heywood only for such a use of *brave* as a noun; I have found it three times in Greene's *Orlando* (ll. 228, 1366, and 1487. *Malone Society Reprint.*) Moreover, the word occurs repeatedly in Shakspere. Let us look at some of the instances.

Now where's the Bastard's braves and Charles his gleeks?
(*I K. H. VI,* 3. 2. 123)

This line appears in a play and in a scene of that play which many critics would decline to recognize as the work of Shakspere, but it is a good example of Elizabethan usage.

Again, in *T. of S.* 3. 1. 15 we find:

Sirrah, I will not hear these braves of thine,

spoken by Hortensio in his character of music-master to Lucentio, disguised as tutor to Bianca, who has just called him a preposterous ass and asserted that the music lesson should give place to philosophical instruction. Here, too, perhaps, Shakspere's authorship might be challenged; but there can be no doubt as to the following line:

There end thy brave and turn thy face in peace.
(*K. John,* 5. 2. 159)

Here the sense is exactly what is required for the Hamlet passage, since the line is spoken by the Dauphin in reply to a particularly reckless and insolent speech addressed by Faulconbridge to the French prince and his English adherents.

But we can come closer to *Hamlet* in this Shaksperian usage of the word than the early chronicle play *King John.* In *Troilus and Cressida,* dating ca. 1602, (4. 4. 139) Troilus says,

> I'll tell thee, Diomed,
> This brave shall oft make thee to hide thy head.

Troilus is replying to a defiant and insolent speech by the Greek which was peculiarly offensive to the Trojan hero.

In the cognate form, *bravery,* the word occurs in *Othello,* 1. 1. 100, where Brabantio characterizes Roderigo's interruption of his repose as "malicious bravery". In fact, we need not go outside of the play of *Hamlet* to find this form. In the last act the Prince expresses his regret for his behavior to Laertes at the grave, but excuses himself by remarking:

> But sure the bravery of his grief did put me
> Into a towering passion.
> (*Hamlet,* 5. 2. 79)

The "bravery" of Laertes was his reckless speech, particularly his allusion to Hamlet as "that cursed head".

Enough has been said, I think, to show that *brave* and *bravery* are words familiar to and used by Shakspere in a sense which would fit the disputed line in *Hamlet* very exactly. For *brave* as a verb or in verbal form a dozen or more instances can be found in Shakspere by a glance at the Concordance.

As to the *ductus litterarum, braves* can be more easily misread as *browes* than Wilson's *brawles.* It would be, of course, spelled *braues* in the ms. and one has only to assume the common misreading of *a* as *o* and a minim error in the ms., making *u* resemble *w,* to get the required transformation of *braues* to *browes.* It would appear, then, that *braves* is the emendation required.

Since writing the above lines, the suggestion has come to me from a colleague that some sense after all can be made out of *browes.* He refers me to *I. K. H. IV* 1. 3. 18-19.

> And majesty might never yet endure
> The moody frontier of a servant brow.

It does not seem to me that this quotation has much, if any, value. The "moody frontier of a servant brow" is, of course, the frown on the face of a vassal, in this case Worcester, which the King is not disposed to tolerate. But to take *browes* of the *Hamlet* passage as equivalent to *frowns* which threaten "hourly hazard" to Claudius is, one

feels, to stretch the meaning of the word too far. Certainly, the scribe who prepared the copy for F could not have understood it in this sense, or he would not have allowed himself to stumble over *browes* and rewrite the passage to make what seemed to him a better sense. After all *braves* seems a more significant word than *browes*.

Lawrenceville, N. J.

TO THE AVON

BY THE REV. DR. MACILWAINE.

Avon! gliding calmly, slowly,
To thy Severn's peaceful bed,
Rapt in musings, deep and holy,
Like a dream of pleasure fled;
Wake, fair river, wake and hear us,
Bending o'er thy waveless face;
Fairy spells of fancy near us,
As thy tranquil path we trace.
Take the flowers we grateful bring thee,
Bear them on thy bosom chaste;
Hear the strain we come to sing thee,
Share the joy to-day we taste,
Fleeting seasons, lustrums rolling
Down the trackless tide of time—
Bells of heaven their loud notes tolling—
Spires that peal their merry chime;
These have been—yea, mighty nations
Have fulfilled their proud career,
Since thy SHAKSPEARE'S weird creations
Rose before his vision here.
Earth, and all of earth, shall perish,
And of time with time departs:
While HIS deathless dreamings cherish
Living memories, loving hearts.

SHAKSPERE'S GRECO-ROMAN PLAYS AT THE PASADENA COMMUNITY PLAYHOUSE

By DeWitt Bodeen

WHEN Gilmore Brown announced that the Pasadena Community Playhouse would present for its Second Annual Midsummer Drama Festival seven of the Greco-Roman plays of William Shakspere, no one expected the finished result to be so illuminating regarding the production of Shaksperian drama. Every one had his own opinion as to which play would "come out" the best in presentation, but no one could foresee that two of the least produced plays in the cycle would emerge as vital, engrossing dramas, fundamentally sound theatrically and wholly absorbing in the vividness of their characterization.

As Lee Shippey, in the *Los Angeles Times,* said of the Greco-Roman plays—*"As studies they are fascinating, for in them one can trace the lineage of so much that we consider modern. As Alfred Noyes puts it, they made 'a dead man touch us with his living hand'."*

And certainly Shakspere came to life in the Pasadena productions of *Timon of Athens* and *Antony and Cleopatra!*

Shakspere's *Antony and Cleopatra,* odd though it may seem, has rarely been presented in the history of the theatre. The play has generally been regarded as too vast, too-many-scened, too undramatically constructed in its earlier acts for popular Shaksperian fare. Although scholars concede the play to be Shakspere's greatest love-tragedy, as it stands on the printed page, they have almost universally criticized its adaptability to the stage. Indeed, John Dryden's *she-tragedy* based on the same theme, called *All for Love; or The World Well Lost,* has been far more frequently performed than has *Antony and Cleopatra.* During the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, Dryden's play was included in the repertoire of every great English tragedienne. During the nineteenth century certain London producers, like Kemble, attempted to piece the two plays into a congenial whole. Lord Byron, in his *Journal,* recorded on Nov. 16, 1913: *"Went last night with Lewis to see the first of 'Antony and Cleopatra'. It was admirably*

got up, and well acted—a salad of Shakespeare and Dryden. Cleopatra strikes me as the epitome of her sex—fond, lively, sad, tender, teasing, humble, haughty, beautiful, the devil!—coquettish to the last, as well with the 'asp' as with Antony."

It was not until October 22, 1850, that Shakspere's tragedy found presentation on the English stage; then Samuel Phelps produced the play at Sadler's Wells, with himself as Antony and Miss Isabel Glyn as Cleopatra. The production called forth all manner of enthusiastic praise, but, after it was finished, the play was again relegated to the mothballs of closet drama. Lily Langtry attempted a production, but, realizing her own deficiencies as an actress, she concentrated on scenic effects. Sarah Bernhardt and Fanny Davenport preferred to act in Sardou's version of the fortunes of the Egyptian queen. In 1905 Constance Collier and Beerbohm Tree offered a production of Shakspere's tragedy that was momentous and history-making, but, on its conclusion, the play was again, for some unknown reason, pushed into the background.

Gilmor Brown, therefore, attacked the play with considerable trepidation. Director Thomas Henry Browne, assisted by Reginald Pole, assembled his cast, and cut and rearranged the play so that it might have more unity and dramatic flow for twentieth-century audiences. The play, like all of the Shaksperian productions at Pasadena, was played straight through with only one intermission, and a musical background was interpolated with *motifs* for each of the important characters. The result was undoubtedly the most colorful and satisfactorily revealing production of the Festival. Richard Sheridan Ames, of *Rob Wagner's Script,* said of the play: *"Never have I beheld the play when it seemed to possess more beauty and power; the text was given a distinctive, masterly handling; the production was climactic with forward sweep and movement; the settings completely lovely; likewise the music, which used Respighi effectively for the sequences laid in Rome."* Katherine von Blon, of the *Los Angeles Times,* wrote: *"The Pasadena Playhouse possesses a special genius in creating a sort of spectacular pomp, in keeping with the grandeur of the Elizabethan age. Several of the scenes were composed with the artistry of certain paintings of the Renais-*

sance." Indeed, all critics agreed with Alice Haines Baskin, of the *Pasadena Star-News,* when she wrote of this production: *"Almost invariably I have found this: the greater the challenge, the more assured the success in this vitally creative theatre."*

Similarly did the Playhouse attack Shakspere's play of *Timon of Athens*, which, like *Antony and Cleopatra,* has been almost universally ignored. Certainly it is the dullest of the plays to read, and, even as closet drama, excites no particular enthusiasm. During Shakspere's day the play evidently had a goodly share of popularity. Thomas Shadwell, in 1678, took Shakspere's version, and "made it into a play", adding the typical Restoration love-element in the characters of two mistresses of Timon—Evandra, who is true to her love in his adversity, and Melissa, who is false. In 1768, James Love (James Dance) acted in and published a version which was a *salad* of Shakspere's and Shadwell's. Richard Cumberland, the leading exponent of the sentimental drama, took the play in 1771, and made it into a bastardly sentimental piece which he staged at Drury Lane.

From then on the play had much the same history as *Antony and Cleopatra*—a history of refurbished *salads* and efforts to revive the original Shaksperian scripts, attempts which were noted favorably and then ignored.

At Pasadena Director Lenore Shanewise saw in the play an admirable chance to make a stylized morality piece: the play was keyed to the rhythmic tempo of dance-patterns, and Timon, played by Thomas Browne Henry, was the only character allowed to emerge as a human being. Timon, as a consequence, became a sort of Everyman, and the people around him represented types—the Poet, the Painter, the Philosopher, the Senators, the Creditors, the Faithful Servant, the Harlots, *etcetera.* The production had all the elements of *a laughing satire,* as Schlegel once said it should have. William Oliver, dramatic critic for the *Los Angeles Herald-Express,* wrote of this production as follows: *"The dream of every actor came true last night for Thomas Browne Henry of Pasadena Playhouse. It is being put at the throttle of a perfect acting role with signals set for a clear track ahead . . . The part was written some three*

hundred years ago by a play doctor named William Shakespeare, who happened also to be a poet. Which is why it has some of the most whole-hearted acting scenes it has been my good fortune to witness and stretches of vivid insults that makes it a classic in the art of crisping human sides."

Of the other plays in the Greco-Roman cycle, *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar* formed an interesting contrast. *Coriolanus,* directed by Morris Ankrum, proved a vivid, biting document, strikingly contemporary in its interpretation. Mr. Ankrum saw the play in an anti-Fascist light, and the drama emerged as a plea of the right of the people against the might of a dictator. The mob, it might be said of *Coriolanus,* was the true hero. Exactly the reverse was true of *Julius Caesar,* for here the mob was interpreted as the villain, and furious thoughtlessness the cause of the catastrophes.

Pericles was offered by the Playhouse as an American premiere, no previous production of the drama in this country in any available account. The play, magnificently directed by Byron Foulger, had the fantastic touch of ancient adventure and pageantry. *Pericles* was to Shakspere's day what the modern movie-thriller is to contemporary theatre-audiences—a pot-pourri of wild and unending events. It was staged with full value being taken of the moments of dramatic color and beauty and with a tongue-in-the-cheek at Shakspere's use of the long arm of coincidence.

Cymbeline likewise emerged with something of the feeling of *Pericles,* for the play had a fantastic, fairy-tale mood lending it a strange enchantment. Cloten, oddly enough, played by Frederic Warriner, came forth as the star of the production.

Likewise, in *Troilus and Cressida,* did the comedy character of Thersites, as played by Melbourne Ford, emerge in production as the true star of the play. *Troilus and Cressida* presented the Playhouse's biggest production problem; it is definitely a play for the closet. As William Reynolds of the *San Francisco Chronicle* said of this production: *"The weakness of the play as a dramatic vehicle cannot be questioned. It lacks drive. It is talkative and*

repetitious. The Playhouse has made a good job of it in keeping it moving at a lively pace, and the occasional scenes that possess genuine dramatic force, they have brought to life with splendid vitality."

Theatre audiences during the seven weeks were moved to genuine enthusiasm by the plays, indicating that Shakspere, even in his lesser known plays, has a definite place in modern theatrical production. The Festival, according to Charles F. Prickett, Business Manager, found true financial success, even as it did last summer when the ten Chronicle Plays of Shakspere were staged. Shakspere definitely "pays". *Antony and Cleopatra* was this year not only the most popular from a critical point of view but from the box-office standard. It is interesting to note that this play is gradually finding its proper place on dramatic schedules: Stanford University presented it this year along with Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra,* and Katharine Cornell has announced that she will sometime in the near future include Shakspere's play of the Egyptian temptress in her repertoire.

The success of the Pasadena Festival may well be summed up in the words of Richard Sheridan Ames, writing of *Pericles* and *Coriolanus* in *Rob Wagner's Script: "Barring starring engagements, often rehearsed for weeks, I doubt whether the English speaking theatre anywhere can offer finer staging of the First Poet's less familiar work; such unflagging movement; direction to equal that provided by Messrs. Foulger and Ankrum; costumes which appear fresh from the sewing machines; reasonably poised young stalwarts who seem at home in Greek and Roman abbreviations, sans even footgear; such soothingly modulated lighting. Yes, the ear is pleased too. Actors have lost little in naturalness, yet they articulate more carefully, giving the verse the stamp of their individuality as well as its true measure of music and syllabic pattern."*

TWO NOTES ON SHAKSPERE

By M. P. TILLEY and J. K. Y.

I.

MALVOLIO'S YELLOW STOCKINGS AND CROSS-GARTERS

THE true significance of Malvolio's "yellow stockings . . . cross-garter'd" has long been the subject of conjecture. In the most illuminating consideration of this subject to date, Miss Marie C. Linthicum has concluded that Malvolio's yellow stockings and cross-garters show him to be a lover.[1] What is particularly noticeable in the many quotations which she adduces is that there is no mention at all of yellow stockings and cross-garters taken together. Yellow, as Miss Linthicum notes, was variously symbolic, and cross-gartering merely typical of persons who wished to be neat. No quotation, however, helps us in discovering what the two together meant.

Yellow stockings and cross-garters, however, are mentioned in conjunction in four passages of Giovanni Torriano's *Piazza Universale* (1666), in the section entitled *The proverbial phrases digested in alphabetical order, by way of Dictionary. Interpreted, and all along illustrated with notes; Italian and English.* Throughout this book Torriano shows an extensive acquaintance with a great many established English proverbs as well as with others not so well known. He uses these English proverbs as equivalents of Italian proverbs that he is explaining. In each of four pasages Torriano explains a different Italian proverb dealing with jealousy, two of them associating yellow with jealousy; and tells us that the English equivalent—"as the English say," are his usual words—is "to wear yellow stockings and cross garters."

[1] Marie C. Linthicum, "Malvolio's Cross-gartered Yellow Stockings," *MP* XXV (1927) 93; "Malvolio . . . considered himself an accepted lover, and appeared before his lady wearing a lover's costume." A later authority, Professor J. Dover Wilson, disagrees in remarking that both yellow stockings and cross-gartering were "probably old-fashioned" at the time of the play. J. Dover Wilson, ed., *Twelfth Night or What You Will* (1930), 140. Miss Linthicum in "Black and Yellow," *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* VIII (1933), 119-20, has made comments on Malvolio's "not black in mind, though yellow in my legs" (III. iv. 28).

> Pigliar il giallo, *i.e.* andarsene in colera, *to take the yellow,* viz. *to grow angry and fret; the English say out of jealousie, to that purpose, to wear yellow stockings, and cross garters.* (p. 73, *s.v.* Giallo.)
>
> Haver martello in testa, *i.e.* esser geloso, *to have a hammer in the head,* viz. *to be jealouse; the English phrase to that purpose is, to wear yellow stockings, and cross garters.* (p. 100, *s.v.* Martello.)
>
> Mettersi gl' occhiali gialli, *i.e.* che fanno parer l'un due, entrar in gelosia, *to put on yellow spectacles,* viz. *which make one to appear two, to begin to be jealous; the English say, To put on yellow stockings and cross garters.* (p. 121, *s.v.* Occhiali.)
>
> Haver ad ogni piè Sospetto, *i.e.* esser ammartellato, *to be Jealous at every motion; the English says, To wear yellow Stockings and cross Garters; the French says, Il est bien plus doux d'estre Cocu, que jealoux.* (p. 197, *s.v.* Sospetto.)

"To wear yellow stockings and cross-garters" has not been found in the English proverbial collections, or elsewhere, either before or after Torriano's time, and requires further evidence before it can be considered a genuine proverb and not an echo of Shakspere. In the meantime it seems likely that Miss Linthicum's statement that "Malvolio appeared before his lady in a lover's costume" must be corrected to read "in a *jealous* lover's costume."

II.

TO REPENT IN SACK

> For the boxe of th'eare that the Prince gaue you, he gaue it like a rude Prince, and you tooke it like a sensible Lord. I have checkt him for it, and *the yong Lion repents: Marry not in ashes and sacke-cloath, but in new Silke, and old Sacke.* (*2 Hen. IV,* I, ii, 222.)

A striking and earlier parallel to the italicized portion of the foregoing passage is found in *Martins Months Minde* (1589), a work attributed to Nashe: "Away with silke, for I will mourne in sack, Martin is dead."[1] At least two Shaksperian editors have aptly quoted other parallels. In R. P. Cowl's edition of *2 Hen. IV*[2] we find the same word-

[1] *The complete works of Thomas Nashe,* ed. by A. B. Grosart (Huth Library, 1883-4), I, 196

[2] *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth,* ed. R. P. Cowl (The Arden Shakspere, 1919), note 33.

play on sackcloth and sack quoted from Fletcher's *Wild-goose Chase*[3] and from the anonymous play *A Larum for* London[4]; in Rolfe's editions there is a further instance from Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*.[5] In each case, the variations of the phrase "to repent in sack" imply that where actually repentance or sorrow might be expected, the repentance or sorrow is only simulated.

The five instances given above point to the existence of a common proverbial source. This source is found in the proverb "to mourn in sack and claret" given in three passages in Torriano's work referred to in Note 1 above. To quote:

> Dolersi colla bocca, e col cuor gioire, *to bemoan with the mouth and to rejoyce with the heart,* viz. *to mourn, as the saying is, in sack and claret.* (p. 16, *s.v.* Bocca.)
> Pianger alla morte, e sepolcro della matrigna, *i.e.* saper dissimulare, e finger di piagnere, *to weep at a Mother in Laws Funeral,* viz. *to know how to dissemble, to mourn in sack and claret.* (p. 102, *s.v.* Matrigna.)
>
> Pianger il morto, *i.e.* dolersi di non haver legati ô lascite, anche finger di dolersi, doppo haver ricevuti di molti legati e lascite, *to bemoan the dead,* viz. *to be sorry that there hath not been any thing left one by legacy or otherwise, also to seem to mourn when a great estate hath been left one; To mourn in Sack and Clarret, say the English.* (p. 110, *s.v.* Morto.)

Torriano states what the other instances imply, that the phrase "to mourn in sack" was expressive of hypocritical mourning. As the passage from *Martins Months Minde* shows, this witty allusion to the Biblical expression "to mourn in ashes and sackcloth" is not to be charged to Shakspere, but was already proverbial.

University of Michigan.

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[3] John Fletcher, *The Wild-goose Chase* in *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher,* ed. by A. Glover and A. R. Waller (1905-12), IV, 381: "You shall find us i'th' Tavern, Lamenting in Sack and Sugar for our losses."

[4] *A Larum for London,* ed by W. W. Greg (The Malone Society Reprints, 1913), sg. B2: "*1 Cit.* What dost thou thinke he will reuiue againe? *2 Cit.* If he doe, the deuil's in't, Ile neuer trust death on's word for a halfe pennie. *3 Cit.* Come, wee'll mourne in sacke for him."

[5] As given in *The letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington,* ed. by N. E. McClure (1930), 236: "Sackcloth and Cinders they aduise to use, Sack, Cloues, and Sugar, thou wouldst haue to chuse."

THE WRONGED IAGO

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

A DIFFICULT problem in *Othello* is the question whether Othello had been guilty of adultery with Emilia. This question has been raised by a number of critics but has been discussed only by very few. Most commentators are too squeamish to discuss it. From nineteenth-century critics nothing else could have been expected. To them Othello was a hero in the grand, romantic style,—lofty, noble, honorable, generous, free from contriving, princely. The tragedy, in their view, was the result of his unsuspecting nature, his trust in his "honest" ancient, his frankness, sincerity, and a certain semi-barbarous simplicity which made him an easy victim to the supersubtle Iago. Othello's "tragic flaw" was his character. True, he had betrayed the confidence of his host who loved him, and had eloped with his fair and young daughter; but the offence was in the cause of love and must not be judged in the light of Venetian prejudice. Othello the adulterer and the betrayer of honest Iago would have been, to most nineteenth-century critics, a despicable creature not fit to be the husband of the saintly Desdemona and the protagonist of what was felt to be a great tragedy. Coleridge, perceiving this, proceeded to convert Iago into a devil and to strip him of adequate motivation for his villainy. And so Iago's soliloquy (in I, iii) became the "motive-hunting of a motiveless malignity," even though a soliloquy has always been regarded as the dramatist's way of giving his audience details which he wants them to regard as true and which he cannot impart to them convincingly otherwise.

Iago's first soliloquy, at the end of I, ii, comes after we have learned from his conversation with his dupe Roderigo that he hates the Moor; that he is playing the hypocrite in his relations with his general; that Othello had wronged him in promoting the effeminate Cassio over his head; that he is determined to be revenged; and that, inasmuch as the Venetian senate cannot dispense with the black soldier's services in the emergency now confronting it, it will probably not punish him for his defiance of convention and

deep-rooted prejudice. When he is left alone he meditates on the nature and method of his revenge, revealing to the audience (I, iii, 407-410, ed. Furness) that he is exploiting Roderigo financially, for his "sport and profit," and that he is thinking of accomplishing two purposes: (1) to get Cassio's place, and (2) to be revenged on Othello,—"to plume up my will in double knavery." Nothing can be more frank —and psychologically more true—than this. The causes for his hatred of Othello are, as he tells Roderigo, his general's injustice in having promoted Cassio to the lieutenancy, and, as he tells us (in soliloquy, lines 410-414) his resentment of Othello's illicit relations with Emilia. Naturally, he gives no hint of the latter motive to Roderigo; he is too sensitive a man to do that; he is a soldier, and for a soldier not to avenge such a wrong betokens either cowardice or the mentality of a pander.

The discussion of this problem has been vitiated by imputing a jealous and suspicious nature to Iago. But Iago does not say merely that he *suspects* Othello of adultery with Emilia; he says that "it is thought abroad" (that is, that it is rumored, it is a matter of gossip) that he is a manifold cuckold. Later on he betrays the fact that he suspects the handsome Cassio too with his nightcap. Coleridge was so determined to acquit Othello of Iago's charge that he regarded the latter's words as being only an instance of what modern psychologists and meta-psychologists call "rationalization," that is, conscious or unconscious self-deception. In so doing he ran counter to Shakspere's perfectly obvious intention. Iago frankly confesses that he does not know whether there is any truth in the rumor and that "for mere suspicion in that kind [he] will do as if for surety." No person indulging in "rationalization" would admit such a thought to his conscious mind. If he is so ethically constituted that he needs to "rationalize" his motives, he will not confess himself a villain and admit to himself that there is a flaw in his "rationalization." Unquestionably, then, Iago does think that his wife has been "seduced" (the critics' word) by his general. Proof that he really thinks so is furnished not only by his repeated use of the word "whore" in connection with his wife, even when speaking to her, but by Emilia's reminder to him, uttered aside in the presence

of Desdemona (IV, ii, 173-175), that "some such squire [some base notorious knave] he was that turn'd your wit the seamy side without and made you to suspect me with the Moor."

That Shakspere wished us to think that there was truth in the rumor may be inferred from a variety of considerations:

1. There is nothing in the play to contradict it or to make it improbable. The men are soldiers and they are creatures of flesh and blood. Othello is a middle-aged man (say, between 45 and 50) and unmarried prior to the opening of the piece. We have no shred of reason to think Othello a victim of *impotentia sexualis*. In the Senate scene he does not say or imply that he is devoid of sexual "appetite"; his words (in I, iii, 290-291) clearly mean that he is now at an age when he can curb his passion, restrain "the young affects."[1] Shakspere was very careful to impress upon his audience that the Othello-Desdemona marriage was not a Platonic, or non-sexual, union; at the first meeting of the lovers in Cyprus (II, ii) Othello says to his bride:

> Come, my dear love;
> The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue,—
> That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you.*

In *sexualibus* Othello, the veteran soldier, lacks that delicacy and reticence that chamberers have. Critics seem to have overlooked the significance of this element in the play, and have therefore failed to realize that Othello's fury later in the scene is aggravated by the interruption of his amatory rites. Had this not been Shakspere's intention he would not have had the "lusty" Othello speak lines 24-26 (quoted above) and would not have had the ribald lines (33-45, "he hath not yet made wanton the night with her, . . . happiness to their sheets!") which follow. It is because Cassio, for whom he had not long since overriden military rule, had now poisoned his delight, that Othello is so unforgiving and so ready to accept Iago's cunningly distorted version of the night-brawl.[2] A man so constituted could have been guilty of what he is charged with. It was not for nothing that Iago refers to him as an "old black ram."

* Some day someone will say that this couplet was not written by Shakspere—and there will be no way to prove him wrong.

2. Iago's accusation occurs in the first act of the play, that is, in the exposition, and must therefore be given greater weight than if it came in later on. Had it appeared first in the third or fourth act we would be justified in regarding it as an after-thought, a "rationalization" (take it in what sense you will). Its significance in the first act is heightened by the fact that Iago has not yet evolved any definite plan for his revenge; he seems even to consider the possibility of bringing about an intrigue between Desdemona and Cassio and then betraying them to Othello; subsequently (II, i, 324-332) he conceives the notion of himself becoming Desdemona's paramour, so as to be even'd with his general, "wife for wife." The intensity of Iago's resentment ("The thought doth, like a poisonous mineral, gnaw my inwards") is further proof that he is not indulging merely in self-deception.

It would be interesting to know how Coleridge would have conveyed to the audience in the Globe Theatre the idea that Iago's fear was only a "rationalization." The audience, hearing the charge against Othello from the husband, takes it for granted that the charge is true unless it is subsequently disproved and the husband is shown to be a victim of morbid jealousy. Neither of these happens in *Othello*.

3. Obviously, too, if Shakspere would have wished us to dismiss Iago's "suspicions" as an impossibility, he would have portrayed Emilia as a woman regarding whose chastity there could have been no doubt. That Shakspere knew how to do this is shown by his delineation of the Merry Wives and Hermione. But in *Othello* the ensign's wife is portrayed as a lewd and filthy-speaking harlot. In her conversation with Desdemona (in IV, iii), in reply to a direct question, she does not indignantly repudiate the possibility of cuckolding her husband. Nay, everything she says indicates that she regards a life of wantonness as a very trivial matter which can be easily defended. This is the more significant because she knows that her husband had been warned (IV, ii, 173-175).

But, some will ask, would Othello (in I, iii, 296-97) have entrusted his wife to the companionship of Emilia if he

knew her to be a lewd woman? Under the circumstances he had no alternative. He knew that Emilia could be trusted to be discreet; he did not dare to make any insinuations against her honor. And he knew that Desdemona could be trusted; and so could Emilia, her husband being near.

4. Othello's interview with Emilia (IV, ii, 3-27, 106-109) furnishes irrefutable proof not only of the latter's character but of Othello's guilty relations with her. Had she been a woman whom he knew to be pure and chaste he would not have dared to speak to her as he did; she would have slapped him in the face, or drawn her dagger on him, or summoned her husband to avenge the insult. When he thinks of her as "a subtle whore" he speaks from experience. He knows that she is "a closet lock and key of villanous secrets; and yet she'll kneel and pray,—*I have seen her do't.*" The last five words cannot be interpreted otherwise.

5. How well-knit the Othello-Emilia theme is and how integral a part of the play it is are evident from the fact that Shakspere departed from his "source" in the portrayal of Iago's wife. Speaking of the handsome but depraved Ensign, Cinthio says that he took "with him his wife to Cyprus, a young and fair, and virtuous lady." In Cinthio's tale the Ensign's wife therefore plays no part in her husband's obtaining possession of the lady's handkerchief. With admirable subtlety and enviable craftsmanship Shakspere changes all this and makes her one of those "pious bawds" he refers to in *Hamlet.*

Assuming that we have established our proposition, we must consider what bearing this has on the play as well as on the character of the protagonist. Elizabethan plays had a moralistic purpose; the ethical impulse of the audience had to be satisfied; sin and error had to be punished at the end. An innocent, noble, generous Othello who succumbs to the subtlety and craft of a "motiveless villain" as (Charles Knight considered him) would have been an object of contempt or pity, not the carrier of that intelligent sympathy which is the true purpose of great tragedy. Probably all, or nearly all, who saw the play felt in their hearts that they stood "accountant for as great a sin"—in fantasy if not in

fact—as Othello did. And that brings us to the essence of our theme: Shakespere's interest was not in the devising of dramatic (theatrical) clap-trap, a stringing together of conventional scenes and situations, but the delineation of human thought and feeling in such situations. Smartness, high-sounding phrases, ear-captivating alliterations and assonances, brilliant dialogue, an abundance of witticisms, a profusion of similes and metaphors, and other such outward flourishes, do not convert what is merely stagey into tragedy or what is essentially humbug into art. Shakspere's "purpose" (probably not consciously formulated as such) was psychological, to hold the mirror up to man's soul, not to man's doings, to depict the inward essence of man. He did not create puppets, bloodless and passionless automata, who would permit him to put them through what antics his caprice might dictate. His creations breathe the breath of life; in them good and ill are mingled in various proportions; none is perfect; they smell of mortality. The sentimental Hamlet, the romantic Lear, the haughty Coriolanus, the austere Brutus, the imaginative Macbeth, the high-spirited Antony, all have their allotment of human weaknesses; not one is perfect. Neither is Othello; he, speaking for Shakspere himself, might have said, with Hamlet: "We are arrant knaves all; believe none of us!"

How all this affects our conception of Iago is a matter which we reserve for future discussion. For the present, it is sufficient to say that it gets rid of the notion that he is a "fiend," such a creature as could have existed only in a poet's fantasy (like Ariel, Caliban, the Fairies, and the Weyard Sisters). He becomes human and intelligible.

New York, N. Y.

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[1] The text is badly corrupt at this point, but the general meaning is fairly obvious.

[2] Incidentally it may be remarked that in this scene both Othello and Desdemona (the latter at line 278) enter in their dressing-gowns or less. (See I, i, 94.) The scene bears striking resemblances to *Macbeth,* II, iii, especially when it is noted that in the quarto Othello and attendants enter "with weapons."

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

THE VARIORUM *HENRY IV*.

Under the sponsorship of the Modern Language Association of America Messrs. J. B. Lippincott of Philadelphia have just published a variorum edition of Part I of Shakspere's *Henry IV,* the first volume in this series since the death of the late Horace H. Furness. The editor of this monumental work, one of the best in the series, is Professor Samuel B. Hemingway of Yale University, who edited this play some years ago. In accordance with the traditions investing the Furness Variorum, we find here the text of the play, a very painstaking collation of all the more important editions of the play since its first publication, a study of its sources, an epitome of a large body of the criticisms of this play and the characters in it, a brief stage history, and an account of certain stage versions of the play, as well as a long list of "principal books" which the editor used in the preparation of this edition. In format the book agrees exactly with its predecessors. That no future student of *Henry IV* will be able to dispense with this work goes without saying.

A variorum edition of a Shaksperian play must of necessity be an encyclopedia of the play. As such it must give a summary of all, or almost all, that has been written on it. This is, of course, impossible without a complete or nearly complete bibliography of the play and of commentary relating to it. No such bibliography of any Shaksperian play is now available. A variorum edition of any such play is therefore doomed at present to be incomplete and imperfect to the extent to which the editor's bibliography is incomplete. An examination of Dr. Hemingway's list of books and essays consulted by him shows that he has ignored hundreds (!) of items dealing with his play; many of them as important as any of those he has consulted. What makes the matter puzzling, if not inexcusable, in this instance is the fact that many of the items which he seems to have ignored are found in such well-known publications as the *Shakespeare Jahrbücher, Notes and Queries, Gentleman's Magazine, Shakespeariana, Harper's Monthly Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Revue Anglo-Américaine, The Theatre,* and even the *Review of English Studies.*

In the opinion of this reviewer, Dr. Hemingway's bibliography, good and valuable as it is, suffers from certain deficiencies which can and should be remedied. In the case of books which have been published more than once the date of the first edition ought to be given (if that is known) and the student should be informed that more than one edition of the book has been issued. This is especially true of such privately printed items as J. H. Hackett's essay on Falstaff, which, originally published in 1840, was republished in 1863 in Hackett's *Notes.* Bibliographic information ought to be accurate. Dr. H. lists an essay on Falstaff by A. Birrell in *Obiter Dicta,* but this essay was written by G. Radford. In listing Z. Jackson's foolish book, *Shakspeare's Genius Justified,* Dr. H. gives 1818 as the date, but in that year the Jackson item was a pamphlet of only 20 pages (ed. 2, pp. 34) which could

not have discussed *Henry IV* to the same extent which we find in the 470-page book of 1819. So too Mr. G. Gould's *Corrigenda* as published in 1881 contained only 16 pages, but the re-issue in 1884 (not listed by Dr. H) consisted of 64 pages. Now and then one suspects that Dr. H.'s bibliography has been unnecessarily padded; I can find no reason for the listing of C. H. Herford's essay on Shakspere's treatment of love and marriage, for example.

Now and then the editor's text departs from the Griggs facsimile, without the deviation being noted. The student is therefore in no position to know whether the error is to be attributed to Dr. Hemingway or to Mr. Griggs. Examples of this are the comma after "King" in I, ii, 16, after *"Hal"* in I, ii 89; the colon after "al" in I, ii, 122; the comma after "not" in I, ii, 126, after *"Hal"* in I, ii, 131; the period after "shoulders" in I, ii, 159; "foile" (instead of "soile") in I, ii, 206. Many such errors occur throughout.

Miss Gibson's index leaves much to be desired. I find many omissions in it. Thus, for example, the words "cantle," "entrance" (see page 9) and the honorific "the," are not listed though they are discussed in the book.

I think that the editor should have said something or quoted someone about certain matters in this play which he has wholly ignored. Thus, for example, on page 89 the readers should have been informed about the meaning of "the first cocke" (lines 16-17); on page 108 (see line 74) the reader could have been instructed about the non-appearance of horses on the Elizabethan stage. Such information would have been of much greater value than the many superfluous listings of the guesses of early editors about the meaning of words which are defined in modern dictionaries.

It would be interesting to know why Dr. H. has made no reference anywhere to musical compositions written for or inspired by *Henry IV*, as, for example, Martin's *Grand Overtrure* and Holst's *At the Boar's Head*.

This reviewer objects vehemently to two points in this book which he hopes to see remedied in future volumes. One is the uncut bolt at the bottom of the pages; the other is the incorrect coat-of-arms on the covers. The former frequently results in the tearing of a leaf as one turns the pages; the latter is utterly unjustifiable and an evidence of the thoughtless retention of a mistake that is almost a hundred years old.

The Furness Variorum is one of America's greatest boasts. It behooves us all therefore to do our very best to make it as nearly perfect as is humanly possible. That is why the present reviewer has dwelt at such length on the imperfections of what he regards a really fine and commendable piece of work. All who have been connected with its publication, especially the editor, are to be congratulated.

A *HAMLET* EMENDATION

Emendations to Shakspere are usually and justly ignored by scholars. Most of them are the fruits of misunderstanding, ignorance and presumptuousness. But an emendation by so distinguished a scholar as Professor Parrott deserves very careful consideration, especially when it relates to a passage in *Hamlet*. In the present issue of the BULLETIN (pages 44-48)

Dr. P argues for emending a well-known passage in III, iii, of this play. The Folio and Q2 texts of lines 6 and 7 differ widely. No one has satisfactorily explained the origin of these variant readings, and no one will ever do so, inasmuch as the variations involve the fundamental and probably unsolvable question of the relationship between these two primary texts.

Following the bad example of Dr. J. D. Wilson, Professor P objects to the Folio's "Hazard so dangerous" (line 6) because (he says) it is "tautological" and to the Quarto's "nonsense word *browes*" (in line 7). To the Folio's word "Lunacies" he objects because it "bears no relation in the *ductus litteratum* or in meaning either to *browes* or to the original word, whatever it was, in Shakespeare's ms." He instructs his readers that Wilson has "shown" the word "Lunacies" to be a pure guess on the part of the transcriber—a guess probably suggested to him by his memory of an earlier speech of the King's (in III, i, 4) in which the words "dangerous" and "lunacie" occur. Professor P objects to Wilson's emendation of "brawles" for Q's "browes" because (1) it does not fit Hamlet's behavior in the play-scene and because (2) in Elizabethan script such a misreading as Wilson had in mind would result in "browees", not in "browes." He would therefore substitute "braves" for "brows" in line 7, giving the word the definition "bravado" or "reckless and flaunting speech."

Several weighty objections to Professor P's argument and emendation occur to us. In the first place, Wilson has not "shown" what Dr. P says he has shown; Professor Wilson has, in his customary way, only asserted or guessed. In the second place, the guess of Professor Wilson is utterly at variance with known facts or probability. Neither scribes nor compositors write or set up a word because of their recollection of a word in some other part of a manuscript they are working on. In the third place, in Elizabethan script the word "brawles" can easily be written in such a way (with a final *es*-flourish) that it may be misread as "browes." In the fourth place, the expression "hazard so dangerous" is not tautologous, inasmuch as the word "hazard" often meant only "risk," whether good or bad. Shakspere was not averse to employing tautological expressions. In the fifth place, Q's "hazard so neer's" is much more "colorless" and tautological than "hazard so dangerous." In the sixth place, the Quarto's "Hazard so near's as doth hourly grow" (Wilson's text) gives us such an unrhythmical line as can appeal only to an editor with a tin ear. In the seventh place, the Folio's "Lunacies" makes perfectly good sense, and its line 6 ("Hazard so dangerous as doth hourly grow) is a good Shakspearian verse. Danger growing out of one's brows or braves is perilously near being stark nonsense, but danger from lunacy is very real. Emendation is therefore unnecessary. The Folio reading of these two lines is *per se* sufficient to prove its superiority over Q2.

How, it may be asked, did the Q2 scribe or compositor get the word "browes"? Our answer is that in Elizabethan script it is not impossible to write the word "lunacies" in such a way (the *l* resembling a *b*, the *u* resembling a badly made double-stemmed *r*, the *n* being omitted because of a tittle above the *u*, *a* being mistaken for an *o*, and *cies* being mistaken for *wes*, the *i* being undotted) that it can be misread as "browes".

Unquestionably, many passages in Shakspere can be improved upon by an ingenious emendator, but scholarship

frowns justly on such tamperings with the text. Emendation is justifiable and necessary only when the text is unintelligible or obviously incorrect; it is not permissible for the purpose of corroborating fantastic theories and perverse guesses as to the origin of a particular text.

ANOTHER BOOK ON *HAMLET*.

The year 1936 has been prolific in the production of essays and books and performances of *Hamlet*. Every year is rich in Hamletiana, but 1936 exceeded the measure. One of the most suggestive and provocative of the year's output is Miss Mona Morgan's little book *Hamlet the Dane* (consisting of only 54 pages and sold by Patterson & White Co. of Philadelphia for only 50 cents). The sub-title of the book—"An Explanation of the True Character of Hamlet and the Meaning of the Play, Told for the First Time by a Player"—is intriguing. Miss Morgan has very little respect for the scholars and the commentators, who seem to her to have utterly failed in comprehending Shakspere's purpose, or for the actors, who seem to have blindly followed the pedants and pundits. To her there is no mystery in this play; to her Hamlet is not "insane, irresolute, half-witted, a deep philosopher," etc.; her Hamlet is not a profound thinker but a suspicious and crafty avenger, resentful of the loss of the crown, furious at his mother's hasty second marriage; among other things he is jovial, quick, witty, bitingly sarcastic, proud, revengeful, bitterly resentful, aggressive, fearless, always perfectly sane, reckless, violent, haughty, imperious, charming in manner, not given to much thought, and not to be trusted with innocent maidens. All this is very interesting. It is a Hamlet, of course, but is it Shakspere's Hamlet?